



Modernizing Tashkent

912, Unknown photographer, private collection, Republic of Uzbekistan

modernizing turkestan through photography

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From the day of its existence, photography was perceived as a medium of inherent objectivity. With the invention and practice of photomechanical processes for preparing printing plates in the Russian Turkestan, it soon began to replace drawings and lithographs in books and magazines. It was the medium of choice to bring the foreign and exotic to the parlors of the emerging Russian bourgeoisie that quickly recognized it and turned the medium to serve its interests. A small but influential group of the early amateur photographers was made up of the military elite from the Russian imperial technical departments who went to explore non-Slavic cultures and architectural antiquities. This unorthodox combination of documentary photography, art and science marks the abrupt beginning of a new discipline in Central Asia: architectural photography. What do these records of architecture from a distant time and place tell present-day viewers? Can we speak of a specific synergy that was so apparent at the early days of photographic invention between the photographic medium and painting technique in relation to Central Asian photography? Or, of the cultural impact of the Russian Empire on its distant and youngest colony along with the ongoing insecurities of the Russian cultural politics in conflict with an ancient Muslim culture? This paper places the aesthetic and ideological aspects of Central Asian photography within a broader international orientalist context by revealing how political, cultural and social shifts altered the nature of Central Asian architectural photography from the tsarist conquest to the Bolshevik rule.

keywords Colonialism, Architecture, Early photography, Central Asia, Russian Turkestan, Albumania, Dudin, Kun, von Kaufman

introduction

This paper was conceived as a logical continuation of my work as a curator of the exhibition *Russia's Unknown Orient*¹ and researched in numerous institutional and private European photographic collections as well as in the Republic of Uzbekistan, Russia, and the United States. The growing consciousness about the multiple ways of interactions between politics and arts at the time of rapid Russian imperial expansion in Central Asia and a time of social dislocation, has inspired a great deal of research in this direction, including photographic studies, an imported medium in Central Asia. Working in the trenches of nineteenth-century Central Asian photography, one cannot help but have a fervent interest in the complex issues of an emerging international hybrid culture in which photography played so emblematic a role. As David Mackenzie investigated in his book on the Russian expansion in Central Asia, "Soviet and western historians have long debated the causes of Russia's conquest" of the territory. The economic and political factors come first to mind, however, it was Central Asia's geographic location that won the Russian rulers² preference, thus indicating the territory's strategic military position and its cultural crossroads.



f2_The Main street of Samarkand seen from the highs of the Citadel early morning

1869-1870, Vasilii Vereshchagin, oil on canvas, 28.7x40.8cm, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (exhibited at the *Russia's Unknown Orient* exhibition, Groningen Museum, the Netherlands, 2010-2011)



f3_View of the Samarkand Mosque

1870s, Samuil M. Dudin. photographic collection Russian Ethnographic Museum, St Petersburg

architecture in early photography during the turkestan campaign

Photography and colonial Central Asia were almost the same age, and they experienced similar explosive growth. It is not surprising that photography was carefully chosen to represent the prosperous Russian colony to itself and to the larger world. The purpose here is not so much to provide a sweeping nostalgic view of a Russian colonial society in the middle of the Central Asian steppes as to try to understand the complex inner workings of a dynamic government born at the height of International orientalism and to illuminate the crucial role of photography in the creation and dissemination of an image of Central Asia to the larger world. The starting point for such representation was architecture.

By mid-1860s photography, however, was still a novelty in the Russian Turkestan. Already in 1865 there had been a first official mentioning of the Russian Governor-Generalship after the army of the General Mikhail Cherniaev (1828-1898) took over Tashkent³. In 1872 the first full photographic album of six splendid parts came out of seven copies. Like many other colonial albums before, this one aroused interest and wonderment. The photograph was another manifestation of the genius of the age by which nature of the Russian colonial policy had being understood, examined and harnessed for the service of locals. Photography was a further example of human inventiveness and it was therefore right that it should have taken its place alongside steam ships, railways and the electric telegraph as examples of modern ingenuity. Russian colonial photography could not have the same impact as the other national innovations, which possessed the ability to transform society in Central Asia, but like them it had captured and held the public imagination, and it continued to generate enthusiasm and curiosity at all levels of society.

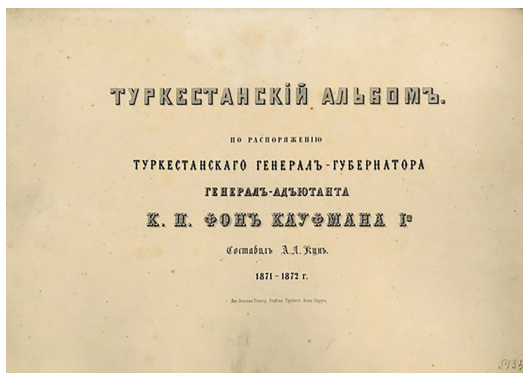


f4_The Map of Turkestan

(including the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand together with parts of Russian Turkestan
1873, private collection, Moscow

The result of this research can at times be overwhelming to an author seeking to understand what we know about the Central Asian photography, and what we do not. With so much in flux, it is difficult to determine where to begin such a study. Chronologically, at the start of the Turkestan campaign in winter 1865, or, perhaps at its close, in 1867, with emergence of the new Russian Turkestan governor-generalship (ill.1)? More important for this study, should this research being on the field or in portrait photography, or focused on infrastructure & architecture? Conveniently, *The Turkestan Album* presents an opportunity to do both. The remarkable feature of the *Album* is its local commission issued by the first

Governor-General, Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman and its immediate (within two years) execution under the assistance of the Petersburg Orientologist and naturalist, Aleksei Liudvovich Kun in addition to several anonymous photographers, all likely being members of the technical section of the Military Typographic Department in St Petersburg. What made this formidable production possible?



f5_Title page of the Turkestan Album

1872, collection of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

In the outskirts of the Russian Empire, the design, production, and manufacture of such a luxury, future factory-produced item during the campaign would be a dream for any Russian commander in service. Von Kaufman quickly estimated the prestige of such publication after assessing several other photographic war and colonial *Albums* published by the Indian Viceroy, the Abdul Hamid II collection showing the Ottoman Empire or, to commemorate the victories and heroes of the American Civil War (1861-5) by Matthew Brady, or Roger Fenton's photography in the Crimean War (1852-5). These albums marked dramatic uses of the camera to locate and situate a visual encounter with war and its encompassing human realities of suffering and survival. In addition, von Kaufman saw in the *Turkestan Album* his inheritance and recognition by posterity, and was already convinced by photographic success during the war activities, regarding it as the fastest tool to record history. Once the Turkestan campaign focused on Samarkand and Khiva, von Kaufman estimated how difficult it was for many Russian officers with a camera, to acquire any type of brass mat or even cases for ambrotypes and tintypes. They had an equally hard time finding vendors who sold albumen silver paper, used to print *cartes de visite* and larger-format negatives. All such equipment had to be shipped from the Russian capital in Saint Petersburg.

Von Kaufman shaped and directed the six-volumes Turkestan catalogue, but limited his own writing in it to an official introduction, leaving descriptions of each section –from archeological and architectural to ethnographic and commercial, to Kun.

Determination of the Russian authorities to possess their own record of Central Asian past next to the detailed calendar of the Russian conquest, persuaded von Kaufman to hire a civilian painter Vasilii V. Vereschagin (1842-1904) to join the campaign in 1868. By that

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time Vereshchagin had covered a great part of the Caucasus on his own, and had gained the reputation of a traveling painter. He completed his famous *Turkestan Series* almost at the same time of the Album publication. Once critically panned from the St Petersburg exhibition the following year, these are major art works which are currently on view at the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow and the Russian State Museum in St Petersburg. Vereshchagin's turbulent character and his strong artistic and civil principles didn't fit the canon of the Russian court artist, thus his career has been vexed throughout in the public sphere.

Kun was now solely responsible for the accurate narrative of the remote Russian colony and had to develop technical and aesthetic strategies. In addition to meeting traditional cultural standards in order to make his photographs appealing to a broad audience with diverse needs and expectations. His photographs played multiple roles within St Petersburg scientific circles, illuminating many national sentiments and cultural ideas expressed in the national and foreign landscapes. They are not romantic souvenirs for the health-and-culture tourism, but an attempt toward anchoring a Russian national identity in a bounded, physical space and oriental and foreign culture of Central Asia in the constant process of its discovery by the Russians.

With a little field –prior the work on the Album, he participated in several expeditions during his stay in Turkestan, to Iskanderkul (1870), few military campaigns to Shakhriyab (1870), Khiva (1873) and Kokand (1876)⁴, or photographic experience he had, these modest-size prints with their rounded corners and mature balance of description and human incident are extraordinary. Collectively they reveal a natural understanding of the historic moment, a graphic appreciation for the harsh beauty of the region, an eye for architecture and antiquities, passion for history and for the human interaction. In the Album part devoted to the region of Semirechie, the views of Samarkand, Kun maintains just the right camera height so that the new structures built in no time by the Russian officers, would not only be visible in a vast steppe, but also be gathered as a cluster of an important new fort. A. Kun was not the only Russian orientologist-turned-photographers –to see an immediate opportunity to profit from the geographical proximity to the seat of war and to celebrate it. Several military typographers from the Imperial Russian Technical society came to Turkestan to construct photographic panoramas of the new territories and increase the scientific attention to the state of antiquities and architectural monuments in Turkestan. The result is that virtually all the known views of the CA campaign are by the Russian photographers, even those made in the smaller *kishlaks* (villages) in the steppes and deserts. The primary reason was the greatly diminished availability of photographic supplies during the military actions. What few materials were available to the photographers in Turkestan were evidently reserved for their core business: *architecture*.

While careful to not exactly dismiss any phase of Turkestan's achievement, von Kaufman makes it clear that he prefers the new Russian Turkestan to the old Asia. While there is nothing exactly crude or peremptory in von Kaufman's division of Turkestan, I think he is much too willing to impose his own system of values on the region. His preferences put him in good company, for there is a long history of critics attempting to shoehorn the infinitely variable Central Asia into some particular set of values. However one judges Central Asia, nobody can gainsay its multitudinous nature, and certainly to overlook its photography.

I believe that in the *Turkestan Album* lay the roots of the popular interest in architectural photography. I also claim that here, in Turkestan, the first traces of the Islam photography took place, and the Russian Empire was aware of it and encouraged. When the first sessions occurred and the first photographic exhibitions staged by the amateurs took place in Tashkent in the late 1890s, they illuminated realities that were little known and sometimes denied) in St Petersburg: show trails, confessions, conditions of the locals, Muslim psychology before the camera, and human oppression in general. After Central Asia became the Soviet Union's ally during the World War II, the *Album* topicality faded, only to

reassert itself with the start of the new resistance among the local population. This is all the more impressive given the *Album's* flawed preservation condition, and it is a tribute to the quality of the first colonial Russian album that it has had such a strong impact on readers and viewers despite this handicap. Now we no longer have the excuse of being denied the original imagery. It's not only possible, but in my view imperative, that someone undertake a new revision that will communicate the album's artistic qualities more accurately and offer a richer and more nuanced account of the *Turkestan Album's* complex narrative.

For public, it will be like seeing a cleaned oil painting for the first time after the old and discolored varnish has been removed. Objects in the picture will assume their proper proportions, new details will come into view, the image will be more discernible and easier to appreciate, and our understanding of the Album as historical literature, independent of its time and subject matter, will be enormously enhanced. I am speaking of the Russia, of course, but just imagine the possibilities if comparisons with other colonial albums followed suit.

In his case, photography could serve other needs apart from economic contribution with a vivid picture of a new, brash but insecure colonial capital existing alongside and often in conflict with an ancient Muslim culture. It could record clearly and truly the world of nature and artifice. Remember Ruskin, who commented to his father while sketching in Venice, that "photography is a noble invention, say what they will of it. Anyone who has worked, blundered and stammered as I have done for four days, and then sees the things he has been trying to do for so long in vain, done perfectly and faultlessly in half a minute, wont abuse it afterwards".

architectural "converts"

Historically, architecture photography emerged and evolved in tandem with photographic technologies. By the second half of the nineteenth century, architectural photography in Russia was increasingly used to generate empirical knowledge of the previously unseen worlds. Scientists, missionaries, officers, began to employ photos in illustrated papers, personal journals, books, scientific reports, and the lantern-slide lectures to focus public attention on select examples of the legendary structures in Central Asia, transforming specific episodes of architectural privation and suffering (ruins) into public domain. The incorporation into Islamic Turkestan of the numerous new "converts" of Russian architecture inevitably would have upset the delicate balance in a territory whose religious life had traditionally been characterized by an uneasy coexistence among the peoples of three different faiths: Muslim, Jews, and Christians. Could the old Muslims really trust the sincerity of the intentions of the "converts" who have been sent by the Russians to modernize them and their architectural traditions? On the other side of the religious divide, many of the locals saw the conversion as a gross act of betrayal. The drama, or more properly the tragedy, was played out over the course of the mid-nineteenth century, a century in which Muslim Central Asia increasingly hold the upper hand, now that practicing Jews had become a much-reduced minority and the Muslim kingdom of Khiva, Kokand and Bukhara was being undermined by internecine strife. The periodic outbreaks of violence, the anti-Russian rising in Tashkent, followed by the city's attempt to impose order, and the terrible acts of the drama of betrayals inside the Khanates.

The *Album* does not claim to add new historical information to the story, how could it? The *Album* is a predominantly Russian product that absorbs events according to the Russian foreign and colonial politics, not to upset it. Instead, it sets out to illustrate and analyze the Turkestan historical experience as a means of arriving at a critical interpretation. Having set the scene –in history, culture (architecture), land (infrastructure), ethnography (people), economy and commerce (trade and crafts), the *Album* makes extensive use of individual case studies in the form of minibiographies of the regions, some more known than others. "The Russian colonial society in Tashkent"⁵ around them was moving in a similar direction.

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The *Album's* case studies on architecture of the Central Asian ancient sites and the rapid modernization of them support one of the points it is most anxious to make: that a wide diversity is to be found in the behavior, reactions, and religions of the locals, thus more opportunities for the Russians to perform modernization and conservation through photography. One way in which they sought to prove the genuineness of their motives was to record the most famous monuments of the Silk Road, focusing on Samarkand, Khiva, Bukhara and Kokand. With images assuming an enhanced importance in tenth-fourteenth century Central Asian devotional life, their exact status became a major source of conflict. Russian anthropologists, who kept coming to the region, have declared a great number of antiquities in a state of danger, requesting to transport and preserve a great number of them in the better conditions in Saint Petersburg. While those who were determined to keep them home in Turkestan saw them as potent weapons in the struggle, the Russians themselves were split, with at least a number of them enthusiastically embracing, and arguing for, the cult of images outside the original sites.

A striking example of this process is provided by Samuil Dudin's reports to the directorship of the future Russian Imperial Ethnographic Museum⁶, a pioneering study by a Russian (Ukrainian-born) artist, which was probably published too late for the Russians to work out a single cultural policy. Dudin's writing, a dense and complicated but passionate piece of work, available only in Russian, shows how the nature and use of religious and cult architecture became a central topic of debate in the Russian Empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when the first museums of anthropology, ethnography and archeology came to existence. Coming from a religion that condemned images as idols, the Muslims were faced with accommodating themselves to a Russian (Western) form of Christianity in which visual representations and carved and sculptural images that the Russian started to employ around Central Asia, possessed an accepted, if still somewhat indeterminate, place.

samuil dudin's affinities with islamic architecture. dudin's architectural photography in turkestan

Seven years spent at the Russian Imperial Art Academy in Saint Petersburg proved crucial for Dudin's Samarkand expedition of 1895. Together with the architect Petr N. Pokryshkin he came to photograph three major architectural monuments of the city: Gur-Emi, Bibi-Khanym and Shakh-i-Zinda. What need to be addressed are qualitative questions about the way in which the Samarkand expedition material comes to terms with the places it depicts. Dudin's architectural work enshrines and confirms an architectural canon that was established in the prephotographic era by the artists such as William Hodges, William Daniell's aquatints of colonial monuments in India and Joseph-Philbert Prangery's Southern Spain. Central to the concerns of Dudin's architectural photography is the fact that this is one of the largest categories among the varied photographs he made in Central Asia. The structures should be introduced in the order in which they are presented by Dudin: the construction of (1) the Shakh-i-Zinda ensemble, the *Living King* or, the *living necropolis*, stretches between the tenth and the nineteenth centuries, but initiated by the Samarkand ruler, Kusam ibn Abbas, the cousin of the prophet Muhammad. Dudin's photographic valise is a wonderful study of the building, but the details are also of interest. One of the twenty mosques, the Mausoleum of Shirin Bika Aga, was built for Timur's sister in 1372 and is modeled on the Ulugbek's family mausoleums.

The largest at the time and still the grandest mosque of Samarkand, it became legendary far beyond the borders of Central Asia. One of Russia's great realist painter, Vasili V. Vereshchagin, a future subject of this paper, had made it the central object of his artistic works. The eminent Russian architect Aleksey Shchusev set the monument right into the

center of his diploma project⁷ (1895). Dudin's photography is clearly more sophisticated in deployment of its picturesque elements and has particular sensitivity to the atmosphere of a city riven by religious and political strife and approaching collapse.



f6_The construction of the Medrese in Kokand
early 1880s, Samuil Dudin, private collection, Tashkent

Some three hundred of Dudin's works exist in Saint Petersburg collections only of Samarkand. Several collections of glass negatives were issued during the first administrative years of the Imperial Ethnographic Museum. Individual works appeared in a wide variety of journals and anthologies on Central Asia throughout the inter-revolutionary years and some of them run to as many as hundreds publications throughout the Imperial, the Soviet and the post-Soviet periods, as well as in separate book editions.

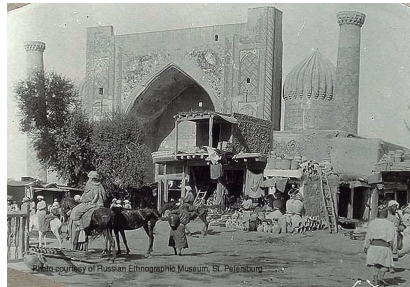
Dudin was an active promoter of his own works in the Russian-speaking world. Pride of place for sheer energy and determination equally belongs to him as a photographer and ethnographer. In many of his Samarkand photographs the emphasis has been placed on two sorts of buildings. One is climactic building, by which I mean those that provide the greatest contributions to an Islamic architectural tradition. The second sort is building that originate, or inaugurate changes of, architectural form and style. The burst of creativity, which followed Dudin's return to Central Asia in the 1890s, was accompanied by unabated inner turmoil in the wake of other photographer's achievements. Dudin was an uncompromising personality, highly sensitive to other people's successes. Yet his artistic eye was sharpened by the long years of mastering architectural details in the classes of the Imperial Art Academy.

Like in the case of Vereshchain (who profusely denied the photographic presence in his art), there is a specific synergy between Dudin's photographic medium and painting technique. The series of Samarkand antiquities during the 1893 expedition has a delicate softness of texture and keen coloristic sense, which Dudin, as artist with the camera almost as much as with words, recognizes and exploited. The original pistachio green, iridescent peacock, chickpea, wax, pearl, all names that betray an astonishing awareness of –and joy in– glorious hues and shades of the Samarkand kaleidoscopic palette of the tiles and mosaics are transformed into the misty layers of Dudin's chromes. Zaravshansk area, the valley of the River Chu, Semipalatinsk region (Tarbagatai and Issyk-Kul) and Semirech'e regions were famous for its decorative textiles and rich-color ornaments. The photographs thus had the power to reveal a hidden process of invention in the form of pieces of fragile textile. Very

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early, Dudin had recognized photography's potential to "conserve memory"⁸, emphasizing the usefulness of recording the affinity between the textile and architectural ornaments. Much later, between 1899 and 1903 Dudin made several trips to Kazakhstan where he completed the album on the Kazakh folk ornament (presently at the Museum of the Russian Art Academy, SPB)⁹. It is hard to doubt Dudin's sense of beauty once familiarized with his photographs, and his attention to textile is a very particular and beautiful one. It reveals his classes with Ilya Repin at the Art Academy, where he copied the ancient busts, architectural molds (*moulages*), various ornaments and intricate decorations.

The kinship between casts and photography is a commonplace of the period and was acknowledged by the architects. Both modes and photos are indeed a mechanized, objective "imprint" from an original. Dudin's photography often reproduces special decorative details of the architectural monuments rather than the finished product makes the relationship even more palpable. The fascinating and complex history of collecting of *moulages*, casts and decorative casts for the nineteenth century Russian museums is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice is to say that such collections progressively grew in importance, as a basis for analysis associated with the study and restoration of historical monuments, but also of dissemination of historical and natural motifs to architects and affiliated craftsmen¹⁰. Besides their aesthetic, qualities, textiles –especially early and medieval ones played a highly important role, whether social, political, or utilitarian, in the Central Asian society and culture that an art historian Lisa Golombek (1988) once accurately and poetically described as "the draped universe of Islam"¹¹.



f7_ The main gate of the Mausoleum Shakh-i-Zinda
Samarkand, early 1880s, Samuil Dudin, REM

Dudin took full advantage of the new and rapidly changing medium of photography on his second expedition to the Valley of the river Chu and around the lake Issyk-kul (late 1893-94) to make detailed photographic studies of architectural monuments from Tashkent to Vernyi (nowadays Almaty) towards the Arpa valley. It is possible that at the library of the Art Academy he saw the Russian translations of Joseph-Philbert Cirault de Prangery's *Monuments Arabs et Moresque de Cordoue, Seville et Granade*. De Prangery was a French draughtsman and photographer who also visited the Muslim lands and drew the Islamic remains in Andalusia. His formidable atlas of North Africa and Sicily was published between 1836 and 1839 and his *Essai sur l'architecture des arabes et des mores en Espagne, en Sicile et en Barbarie* saw the light in 1841. De Prangery took three-years tour to the Eastern Mediterranean, and never stopped making daguerreotypes along the way. Because of

the long the exposure time –as many as eight hours– daguerreotypes were well suited to subjects that did not move, like architecture. They had the disadvantage that each exposure produced only a single image on a metal plate. The collotype process had been perfected by 1845, and began to replace the daguerreotype. Printed from a paper negative on light-sensitive paper, the collotype allowed the photographer to make an unlimited number of prints from a single exposure. Calotype paper negatives were also much lighter and less bulky than the sensitized copper plates used for daguerreotypes. Despite the great tonal range of calotypes, the grain of the paper prevented the photographer from achieving the same level of detail.

Suggestively, Dudin's interest in architectural ornament was part of a considerably broader nineteenth century phenomenon in which European art historians were seeking to explain the nature of decoration and pattern across space, time, and media. The publication of Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's (1814-1879) and subsequently, *L'Art Russe* (1877) in the Russian architectural journal *Zodchii* ("The Architect", also subscribed by the Academic library) on the formal origins of the Russian architectural patterns which were heavily influenced by the Oriental and Byzantine cultures, have most certainly caught Dudin's attention. Flipping through the curious plates of *L'Art Russe* one has the sense that the decorative arts can indeed be raised to the status of high art, holding a symbolic key to architectural development. Within ornament lies the very idea of the emblematic value. The emphasis on *motif* to develop architectural meaning is a trend that Dudin follows throughout le Duc's works. He had considerably lesser knowledge of the works by Henri Labrousse, Ruprich-Robert, and Garnier, who spent many years to merge their architectural practices and theories. Dudin's own understanding of Russian architecture as a dynamic and dynastic expression of various cultures was part of broader wave of the Russian interest in eclecticism and *vostokovedenie* (the Eastern, or Oriental studies), spurred by the international Orientalism, and the improvements in travel and communication.

Like many of his Russian contemporaries, he viewed art in racial terms, such as the art of the Kazakhs was distinct from that of the Turkmen or the Uzbeks¹², and gained fame from his labors. Dudin believed that architectural photographs could become cognitive tools invaluable to the scientists and architectural historians alike. As such, they could illustrate a text, or construct a photographic collection of various architectural details on the basis of *instrumentarium*¹³.

the question of coexistence

This recognition of the complexity of the historical process and the cultural technique is very desirable. By letting something of the historical burden of modernity that the Russian has imposed on the Turkestan, the Album leaves us free to consider in the setting of its times the complex religious life and the rich and varied achievements of the extraordinary Central Asian community whose experiences the Album evokes with such feeling. The profuse display of architectural details, a close attention to the ornaments, exotic stone and tile decorations next to Islamic linear patterns formed spectacular aspects of the Album's archeological part. How are these details to be documented? How are particular structures to be treated in relation to others, conceived and built by the Russians who settled there? To resolve these questions, I have lightly borrowed the method described by Stephen Bann about the distinction between single-reference subjects and, multiple-reference subjects. Bann's brilliant suggestion does not answer to architecture: solely, each of the two categories is simply treated with both innovative and traditional framing, so this kind of assessment might be of interest in questions regarding the described situation in the cultural history of taste. It prompted me to take note of the introduction of new imagery that may not in fact have been intended as visual innovations in photographing architecture in Central Asia. Von Kaufman's Album is clearly among the single-reference photographs,

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however already by the late 1870s, architectural photography in Central Asia is able to offer us more visually innovative examples. Whereas each episode of the public life in connection to architecture, or religious ceremonies that took place in some clearly important buildings, tends to be isolated in non-photographic way, the painted scenes have irresistible likeness to the decorative figures. The photographers' strategy consisted of composing the images around the central architectural object hence allowing everyone to be part of an image. In architectural photography such experiment is possible, and the unity is not lost. Also, the framing of the photograph appears to highlight the central scene in a very original way, offering us a unity of details, or visual entities, which have sometimes had no real, independent, or sustainable afterlife.

Architectural imageries, narratives, and technologies of photographing them helped to craft and disseminate certain contemporary values via compelling content, both specific and symbolic. Nonetheless, I recognize that photography, and particularly the architectural photography that is naturally links to the patrimonial heritage of Central Asia during the Russian rule was a part of a larger visual and cultural landscape. For more than 60 years, photographs have co-habited with other existing and emerging visual media: drawings, lithography, painting, etchings, cartoons, posters, prints, films, up to the social media, which is far beyond the scope of this research.



f8_View of the rubber market in Samarkand

late 1870s, Unknown photographer, private collection, Tashkent

The search for early & often anonymous photographers, root causes, and overarching forces is universal, shaping thought about the early photography as it does every other field of inquiry. But there are times when this search, admirable and essential as it is, can blind us to the powerful part that less predictable forces play in artistic creation: vagrant thoughts, backwards or sideways glances, accidents, coincidences, political escapades and obsessions, diplomatic misleading, even outright historical mistakes. Of all the colonial photography, Central Asian was the one whose art, life and creators were most complexly shaped by the dynamic interaction between large plans and unpredictable particulars. The argument about what made Central Asian early architectural photography the photography it was, began more than a century ago with its emergence as the waif of the international orientalist movement, by some measure the most adventurous territory in the history of the nineteenth century photographic profession, and have never really been resolved. Up until now, it seemed unsure of what it was.

endnotes

1. *Russia's Unknown Orient: orientalist paintings 1850-1920*, The Groningen Museum, the Netherlands, December 2010-May 2011, the NAI publishing House, Rotterdam, 2010.
2. David Mackenzie, *Expansion in Central Asia: St. Petersburg vs. the Turkestan Generals (1863-1866)*, Canadian Slavic Studies, iii, no. 2 (Summer 1969), 286
3. From the correspondence between the Governor Cherniayev to the head of the Asian department of the Chief Military Committee, Vladimir A. Poltoratskii in January 1865, Tashkent was the most important political and trade center in Central Asia while keeping its semi-independence under the loose control of Kokand khanate, thus its annexation would involve the Russian Empire in the immediate and efficiency administration of the non-nomadic population, pls see *Turkestanskii Krai*, XIX, 33, Cherniayev to Poltoratskii, January 22, 1865.
4. There is much speculation in the photography literature about why Aleksey Kun was chosen as a team leader for the Album. For a measured analysis of his activities, see: <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/russkiy-vostokoved-a-l-kun-i-ego-kollektsiya-istoricheskikh-dokumentov-ahmada-yasavi>
5. The title of the book by the Canadian historian Jeff Sahadeo, *The Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent*, Indiana University Press, 2011, that explores the political, demographic and social aspects of the new Russian community in the capital of Turkestan from 1865-1920.
6. Dudin's *oeuvre* as a writer is divided between several archives in the Imperial Russian collections and archives, namely the REM (Russian Ethnographic Institute), IIMK (Institute of the History of the Material Culture), the Kunstkamer (Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology) and the RPB (The Russian Public Library's Manuscript department). The late Galina V. Dluzhneskaya, an eminent photographic researcher and historian of the IIMC described some of Dudin's architectural photography in Archeological Research in Central Asia and Siberia, 1859-1959, see *Dokumenty Nauchno-gor Arkhiva Instituta Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury RAN*, Sankt Petersburg, 2011.
7. See the doctoral dissertation of Diana Kaipen-Varditz's *Aleksei Shchusev's Cathedrals*, MIMC, 2013.
8. See V. Prishchepova, K 150 letiu so dnia rozhdeniya S.M. Dudina: khudozhnika, etnografa (po materialam MAE RAN), *Antropologicheskii Forum* no 15, online, 608 (Towards 150th anniversary of Samuil Dudin, an artist and ethnographer), based on the materials of MAE RAN, Anthropological Forum, no 15, 1992.
9. Dudin made a photographic copy of the *Album of the Kazakh Ornament* specifically for the MAE (Kunstkamer), col. 2450, see Prishchepova, 76.
10. See the studies on the formation of the Russian Art academy in St Petersburg, the diaries and notes of Ivan Tzvetaev during the early years of the Tzvetaev Museum in Moscow, etc. Also, Martin Bressani and Peter Sealy's remarkable essay on The opera Disseminated: Charles Garnier's Le Nouvel Opera de Paris (1875-1881) that discusses the relevance and intricate relations between the molds and the final architecture product, p 212.
11. See: http://www.google.nl/search?client=safari&rls=en&q=lisa+golombek+the+draped+universe+of+islam&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&gfe_rd=cr&ei=Muu0VcnRI-Pn7AawwbYAw
12. E.A. Rezvan, *Samuil Dudin-fotograf, khudozhnik, etnograf (materialy ekspeditsii v Kazakhstan v 1899 i 2010gg)*, katalog vystavki, SPb, 2010 (Samuil Dudin – photographer, artist, ethnographer. Kazakhstan's Expedition materials, 1899 and 2010), exhibition catalogue, St Petersburg, MAE RAN (Kunstkamer), 61.
13. See Eugenia Janis and Carney Gavin, eds. *The Invention of Photography and Its Impact on Learning: Photographs* from Harvard University and Radcliff College and from the Collection of Harrison D. Horblit (Cambridge, MA, 1990), also Dominique de Font-Reaulx and Joelle Bolloch, eds, *Louvre d'art et sa reproduction* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris, 2006). A monograph on Central Asian ethnographic photography of the fine arts is still wanting in Russia, or Europe; for England, see Anthony Hamber, *"A Higher Branch of the Art", Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839-1880*, Amsterdam, 1996.

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